5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

adjoining village, might receive land at a later date when that woman's daughter married, according to the rule, in her mother's home village. This kind of pattern is described by Hogbin (1967:24) for the Wogeo, who operate a system of land dowries in conjunction with second-degree patrilateral cross-cousin marriage. 423 425 583

Often land is granted, on a temporary or even life-long basis, to persons other than sisters or daughters. Land transfers may arise in a variety of social relationships which cannot be easily categorised. In Inonda, where the village domain is rather large, land is often lent by one lineage to another so that cultivation areas can be close together or contiguous. This is done because people like to work at not too great a distance from one another. In Sivepe, some land loans were made from a similar motive, mostly for rubber gardens. When migrants from Garombi[2] settled in Sivepe, several grants of land were made to them, both for taro and yam gardens. Such arrangements do not usually extend beyond the life time of the recipient although I do know of exceptions. If the gift endures, it signifies a close and permanent bond between families who may be unrelated by kinship. 582 423 425 [613] [166] [571]

From the viewpoint I have adopted in this work, two questions are of special interest in the analysis of land transfers: what social benefits are being exchanged between the partners; and what are the symbolic motives for using land as an object of mediation in these relationships? In order to approach these questions, I shall first cite some situations in which land transfers are of practical use and common occurrence: 121

1. Land transfers from wife's father to daughter's husband used to be very common, especially in the early years of marriage. A man was expected to help his wife's father with gardening and other tasks, and to stay with him for a year or so. During this period, the father-in-law gave the couple a garden for their own use. On occasion, this might be a garden to which the daughter had been granted a permanent usehold. This type of bride-service is very much on the decline today, as the payment of a substantial bridewealth in money acts as a substitute. I encountered the custom once or twice and found that the son-in-law regarded himself as the father-in-law's 'worker' or servant. We may therefore regard this type of land transfer as offering to the donor the satisfaction of seeing the receiver reduced in social status. 423 583 425 [558]

2. In the other types of cases I shall mention, transfers of land do not place recipients in a position of social inferiority. Certainly, in many cases harvest gifts are expected from the borrowers of land but these tend to be small in size and to lack any implications of status difference. For instance, many transfers are made by widowers. These men have a choice between attaching themselves to the family of a son, a daughter or a sister's son. In Sivepe, I found that each of these choices was made twice in a total of six cases with which I am familiar. In all the cases where an old man attached himself to a daughter or sister's son, he made transfers of land to those who looked after him. The choice he makes is prompted primarily by mutual affection but nonetheless his position is greatly strengthened by the knowledge that he has some tangible way of showing his gratitude, namely in the form of land. If he is unhappy with one relative and moves to another, some part of his inheritance will probably move with him. 423 431 736

3. Cripples and widows are often in a similar position. They may need a

652 expected to levy. He wrote his Bishop that he would not collect the
871 tax. His letter seems to have been only one trickle in a river of non-cooperation and I never found out whether the government prevailed over the missions.

971 This controversy casts some light on Orokaiva attitudes to education. By standards of Orokaiva wealth, parents are making a
[431] major voluntary contribution in money, labour and materials, not with the idea of "paying for their children's eduction," but in order to make appropriate return gifts for the services rendered by the mission. The principle governing this transaction is reciprocity, but not contract. Thus, the Orokaiva contribution to their children's educatim differs from a tax in three crucial ways:

(a) It is specifically given to the mission, towards whom the people feel an obligation and not to the government, to which they do not feel beholden for their children's education. (This obstacle could be overcome only if the government succeeded in explaining the Department of Education budget in the villages.)

(b) It is regarded as voluntary, according to the principle
[558] of reciprocity. People contribute from goodwill and generosity, the only possible sanction for a non-contributor being a diminution of social status. (If an education tax is levied, the sanction is refusal to admit children to schools. This rule already applies in administration schools.)

(c) Contributions are made only partly in cash, but consist mainly of labour and materials which are not readily marketable in the villages. (If the payment is entirely in cash, this cash has to be earned outside the village or by cash-cropping. Resources such as sago and blackpalm cannot be used as a contribution to education.)

I have shown at various points in this report that Orokaiva value their children's school education highly. In Sasembata district, the men worked for the mission long before anyone was baptised and their motive was, as they told me, to see that their children could
[829] go to school. When I asked why they wished this, they answered that this was the only chance for the children to be able to obtain the same wealth as the Europeans and become equally powerful. It is consistent with this reasoning that the Orokaiva have never been very disturbed by what may seem to us the strange policy of conducting lessons in the English language. It has so far been enough for the Orokaiva to see that the only Papuans who have obtained wealth and power have been those who were educated in the school and who have
[191] gained some knowledge of English. It is only among the educated Orokaiva that one hears arguments for the Papuans and New Guineans being educated in a language of their own.

25: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1974 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

571 But for most everyday purposes, the cooperative alliance is even smaller and does not extend beyond the three-generation family.

571 Relations with uterines, affines, and more distant agnates (that is, those
604 beyond the lineage, and those who are resident in other villages) follow the
881 pattern of competitive exchange. An example of what this implies would be the role of mother's brother as officiator at initiations. Elsewhere, (Schwimmer, 1970b) I show that ideologically, he is the proper person for the office, but that the father's brother and even the father would do as well. The mother's brother is not obliged to act; he is paid if he acts; furthermore he will act only if prior to an initiation, the neophyte involved has obliged his uncle by rendering him small services and being pleasant to him. Certainly the mo/bro si/so relationship is a warm affectionate one, but it is explicitly free from unconditional obligation. It is, in fact, the first formal relationship into which a person enters, where prestations on both sides are by free choice.

602 How can we explain that, at least in Sasembata, the Orokaiva classify
572 guest friends with the sibling group (by applying the terms *apa/eambo* to
171 them), whereas the Tangu use an affinal idiom? The answer is that siblingship has different connotations in the two tribes. Burridge (1969) emphasizes, above all, the amity that must govern the relationship between senior and junior siblings among the Tangu. If the junior sibling becomes unduly competitive, it is not held against him, but the relationship is redefined so that he becomes a *mwerkindang* – a competitor instead of a subordinate and protégé. The Orokaiva do not permit such a change in status; the younger brother must obey or sever his relations with his family. Moreover, the *apa/eambo* relationship is not confined to the cooperative alliance but includes distant agnates and all uterines within the exogamous group. A good deal of competition and exchange normally occurs between such kin, although the ideology of the *apa/eambo* relationship is basically that of a corporate group pooling resources for the support and protection of its members.

431 Secondly, the custom of classifying guest friends with siblings is not
437 general among Orokaiva; the Sangara use the term *namei*. Furthermore,
572 terminology is as much an ideological device as a reflection of reality. Use of *apa/eambo* means that people should behave *as if* they were siblings; that is, make free gifts instead of exchange gifts. These terms may be used when one seeks to extract a presentation from a comparative stranger, in which case they mean little more than an appeal *ad misericordiam*. In an hereditary friendship in which it is unusual to make claims, the terms signify that the gifts made to a visiting friend are not repayable but free. Certainly, it would [576] be considered wrong to press claims on the basis of such gifts. On the other hand, the host is expected (*not* merely permitted) to make a return visit, and [626] if he does not present gifts on that occasion, he will certainly be the subject of gossip and loss of reputation.

[558] In considering the manner in which these gifts are given, Sahlins'